

Rev Ezra Ripley

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THE

African Repository,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. VI. FEBRUARY, 1831. No. 12.

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THE
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,
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VOL. VI. FEBRUARY, 1831. No. 12.

Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society.

THIS Meeting was held in the Hall of the House of Representatives, in Washington City, on Wednesday evening, the 19th of January, 1831. A great number assembled on this occasion, and on motion of Rev. Dr. Laurie, the Hon. C. F. MERCER, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, took the Chair a little before seven o'clock.

The Report read by the Secretary, Mr. GURLEY, exhibited many interesting and encouraging facts in regard to the state and prospects of the Colony, and of the progress made by the Society in the United States. Two vessels, the Carolinian and Volador, have recently sailed with emigrants for the Colony. The whole amount received by the Society during the past year, is \$27,209 39. Of this sum, \$10,973 13 were made up by the collections on the 4th of July. The receipts of the year 1830 exceed those of 1829, by nearly \$8,000.

The following gentlemen appeared and took their seats as Delegates:

From the State Colonization Society, New Hampshire.

The Hon. SAMUEL BELL.

From the State Colonization Society, New York.

GERRIT SMITH, Esq.

From the State Colonization Society, Pennsylvania.

The Hon. Mr. HEMPHILL and ELLIOTT CRESSON, Esq.

From the State Colonization Society, North Carolina.

Gen. BARRINGER, and GOVERNOR IREDELL.

From the Caldwell Colonization Society, Kentucky.

The Hon. C. LYON.

From the Meadville Colonization Society, Pennsylvania.

The Hon. THOMAS H. SILL.

From the State Colonization Society, Vermont.

The Hon. H. SEYMOUR, and Hon. B. SMITH.

From the Auxiliary Society, Delaware.

The Hon. ARNOLD NAUDAIN.

From the State Colonization Society, Ohio.

The Hon. Judge BURNETT, and J. G. BENHAM, Esq.

From the Canfield Colonization Society, Ohio.

The Hon. ELISHA WHITTLESEY.

From the Newark Colonization Society, New Jersey.

The Hon. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN.

From the State Colonization Society, Connecticut.

The Hon. Mr. YOUNG, and Hon. Mr. INGERSOLL.

From the Springfield Colonization Society, Massachusetts.

The Hon. Mr. BATES.

From the Auxiliary Society, Alexandria, D. C.

The Rev. Mr. HARRISON, and Rev. Mr. CORNELIUS.

From the Auxiliary Society, Georgetown, D. C.

JOEL CRUTTENDEN, Esq., ROBERT P. DUNLOP, Esq., and THOMAS
TURNER, Esq.

ELLIOTT CRESSON, Esq. of Philadelphia, then rose and said,
MR. PRESIDENT:

Before offering the resolution which I hold in my hand, let me beg the friends of this noble, this Godlike charity, to persevere in labours which have already been crowned with a success far beyond the most sanguine anticipations of its most devoted friends. Only nine years have elapsed since the little band of Colonists landed on the Cape, and a nation has already, at your bidding, sprang into existence—a nation destined to secure to Ethiopia, the fulfilment of the glorious prophecy made in her behalf: for already have two of her Kings thrown down their crowns at the feet of the infant republic, and formed with her a holy alliance—not such as the despots of the Old World have dignified with that proud name, while forging new chains for their miserable subjects—but for the holy

purpose of exchanging the guilty traffic in human flesh and blood for legitimate commerce—equal laws—civilization and religion. Already

“From many an ancient river, from many a palmy plain,
They call us to deliver their land from error's chain.”

They now ask for schools—factories—churches. Nearly 2000 freemen have kindled a beacon fire at Monrovia, to cast a broad blaze of light into the dark recesses of that benighted land:—and although much pains has been taken to overrate the cost, and undervalue the results, yet the annals of colonization may be triumphantly challenged for a parallel. Five years of preliminary operations were requisite for surveying the coast—propitiating the natives—and selecting the most eligible site;—numerous agents were subsequently employed—ships chartered—the forest cleared;—schools—factories—hospitals—churches—government buildings and dwellings erected, and the many expenses requisite here, defrayed—and yet, for every \$50 expended by our Society from its commencement, we have not only a settler to show, but an ample and fertile territory in reserve, where our future emigrants may sit under their own vines and fig trees with none to make them afraid. During the last year, an amount nearly equal to the united expenditures, in effecting these objects, has been exported by the colonists; and from Philadelphia alone, 11 vessels have sailed, three of them chartered through the efforts of the Pennsylvania Society, and bearing to the land of their forefathers a large number of slaves manumitted by the benevolence of their late owners.—A single incident will tell the feeling of these happy people—One of them in taking leave of Capt. Sherman at the Cape, begged him to assure their friends and benefactors that if it pleased the Almighty to prolong their existence to old age, they could not be sufficiently grateful to him and to them for the happy asylum provided for them—and declared that he could never before comprehend why the blood and tears of poor Africa had been thus long permitted to be so lavishly poured out—but that the problem was now solved—Liberia had already paid the debt!—Go on, gentlemen, with this noble work—and the patriot—the philanthropist—the christian—even the selfish calculator will support you. Even now do the wants of this young nation demand the establishment of a line of packets to sail every three or four months, and for this purpose, depend upon it, the funds will be liberally granted.—Connecticut in 1828 commenced with a contribution of \$200—in 1830 she increased it to \$1200; and if we become not weary in well doing, New England will arise in the majesty of her strength, and pour into our Treasury a generous portion of her wealth.

He then offered the following resolution, which was adopted.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented to its Officers for the faithful manner in which their duties have been performed during the year, and for the Report just read, and that this Report be printed.

The Hon. Mr. WILSON, of Maryland, then addressed the Chair,

MR. PRESIDENT: I hold in my hand a Resolution, which I beg leave to move. It grows out of a melancholy event of the year just passed by and gone. With that year, has passed from time into eternity, an intimate and much-valued friend of mine. That friend, Sir, was also a friend of this Institution.

When it was first suggested that such an Institution as this should be called into existence—his mind, strong by nature, and highly cultivated by education, immediately saw in prospect, a way opening for the amelioration of the condition of a distressed, degraded, portion of our population. He also saw in distant view, the means in embryo, by which the political, moral, and religious character of afflicted, benighted Africa might possibly be improved.

The moment his mind became convinced—such was the moral structure of his heart—he took a prompt and zealous agency in forwarding the great benevolent objects of this Society.

You, Sir, cannot, nor can any one, who hears the sound of my voice, be at a loss, as to the individual to whom I allude.

It is the late much-lamented WILLIAM H. FITZBUGH, one of the Vice-Presidents of this Society.

He is gone—and by that dispensation of divine wisdom, to our limited view, great—great indeed—is our loss.

I knew him well, and all who knew him, bore cheerful testimony to his worth.

Intelligent—active—blessed with a large fortune—with a suavity of manners, equalled by few and surpassed by none—he was useful in his day; and you, Sir, who knew him well, will bear me out, when I say, that if his life had been spared, he bid fair to expand the sphere of his usefulness, and to become one of the ornaments of this favored land.

But, Sir, the heart which once animated this excellent man, and which throbbed, at all times, so warmly in the cause of humanity, will now beat no more forever.

It has gone!—Oh where has it gone? Gone, I trust, to join its kindred spirits—the spirits of just men made perfect.

He has left behind, many who bemoan his loss. Alas! Sir, the first upon my affectionate recollection, is the lovely tender partner of his bosom. The next, in order, impressed upon my memory, is the interesting circle of family friends—nor friends more amiable and estimable, man ever had.

Let us mingle our sympathies with theirs, for the loss of such a man.

As a testimonial thereof, permit me to ask, that the resolution which I now hand to the Secretary may be placed upon our records.

I move the same, and can only add, that I anticipate its immediate, unanimous, and unhesitating adoption.

Resolved, That this Institution is deeply afflicted by the death of William H. Fitzhugh, Esq. one of its Vice-Presidents, and that it will cherish an affectionate remembrance of his eminent private and public virtues, and his distinguished exertions in aid of the African cause.

When the Resolution was about to be put to the vote, Mr. CUSTIS, of Arlington, rose and addressed the Chair, as follows:

SIR: Before the Resolution you hold in your hand is offered to the unanimous approval of this Meeting, I crave the privilege of uttering a few words in discharge of the solemn duty I owe to the memory of him, who is now the being of other worlds. Sir, our lot has fallen on calamitous times—for scarcely had we doffed our mourning garments for our venerated President,* who so long and so worthily filled our Chair, and who bore his illustrious name, with many of the high dignities, and all the mild charities of life, pure and “time honored” to the grave—than we must again assume the insignia of sorrow; for lo! the “insatiate archer” hath sped another shaft, and another of our chiefs is hurried to an untimely tomb.

Sir, I did not rise to pronounce the eulogium of our lamented friend. It will be found written in the hearts, and can be read in the eyes, of his countrymen; yet, as I knew him well, as I loved him well, Sir; as he was near to me, as he was dear to me, Sir; I thus humbly perform my last melancholy duty; and though no praise of ours can now benefit him, he continues to benefit us by the force of his bright example.

He was one of the earliest, most zealous, and most faithful, among the many zealous and faithful laborers, in our common vineyard. He spared neither his time nor talents in the service of our cause, and by his last will and testament, has left an imperishable monument to his friendship and sympathy for the cause of the whole African race. Yes, Sir, and when in long distant day, powerful Liberia, in the pride and enjoyment of every freedom and happiness, shall erect in her capitol, tablets of gratitude, in memory of her early benefactors, the name of FITZHUGH will be graven thereon, in characters of pure and high relief.

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

GERRIT SMITH, Esq. of New York, then addressed the Chair as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: The object of the American Colonization Society is to remove from our country to Africa our present and future free coloured population. I hope I shall not be thought to have lost sight of this object, if I make Africa the principal theme of my remarks. This will not be thought out of place, to those who expect great blessings to flow from the successful prosecution of the object of the Society; and such as may agree with me, in the opinion, that these blessings must reflect a favourable influence on the direct operations of the Society, will consider Africa to be a subject

* THE HON. BUSHROD WASHINGTON, first President of the Colonization Society.

not only excusable, but eminently suited to this occasion. The History of its better and brighter days sometimes exerts a redeeming influence on a nation. It is to the burning History of Ancient Greece, more than to all other causes, that modern Greece is indebted for the spirit of liberty and improvement with which she is inspired. And why may not Africa, roused at the thought of her ancient glory, endeavour to recover her elevation? Her past History should interest the nations in her welfare, and refute the wicked charge of the natural inferiority of her children. Africa was not always as she now is. If the light of science shone not earliest in Egypt, yet for centuries it shone only there. The reigns of the Ptolemies form a bright period in her annals. Alexandria, her Library and Scholars were well known to the world. Carthage stood prominent among the empires of antiquity, and her importance is briefly attested in the "*delenda est Carthago*," so often pronounced in the Roman Senate. Nor should we omit to mention, that the mild beams of Christianity, once shone upon Africa. Strange as it may seem, not a few of the Fathers of the church, Cyprian, Augustin, and Tertullian were Africans, and her ecclesiastical councils were attended by hundreds of bishops.

We have glanced at Africa as she was, let us now look at her as she is. What contribution has she brought for the last thousand years to the arts or the sciences? Has a single valuable book, during that long period, been printed in Africa? Her moral and intellectual state is more cheerless than her deserts; for in these we see some *oases*, some cool and verdant spots; but her mind is a total waste, presenting a desolation without one redeeming feature. The agency of steam in propelling boats would seem as supernatural in Africa, as did the ships of Columbus to the Aborigines of this new world. What part has she in commerce? Her barbarism has rendered her soil almost as useless as though the ocean had been permitted to roll over it.

We may form some idea of the loss incurred by Africa on account of her moral waste, by conjecturing what would be the loss were all Europe to be reduced to the state in which Africa is exhibited to our view. To have one-fourth of the soil uncultivated, and a great part of her population unemployed or uselessly employed, would be a mighty drawback on her revenue, a drawback to which her philanthropists and economists would never be reconciled.

But we are not concerned to look at the process by which Africa has been reduced to her present degradation; but we *are* deeply concerned to know how she may be raised. What agency are we bound to employ to effect this object?

I am well aware, that in the eyes of many, all efforts for the heathen are considered as the results of fanaticism and knight errantry, which overlook plain duties to sally forth to labour at impracticable objects of good. If there be any within the sound of my voice, who look with con-

tempt upon all efforts to enlighten and civilize heathen nations, we admit that they have no sympathies which we can hope to reach. Their charity begins and ends at home. But some, I trust, (and all Christians should be such) have a sympathy as wide as the world. There is not a child of Adam so remote, as to fall without its range.

But to return from this digression; let us inquire how Africa is to be raised from her degradation—to be awakened from her moral death; and what part in effecting this work, Providence has assigned to us.

Whatever means may be employed, we maintain, must be such as to accomplish the abolition of the slave trade, or they will fail; and both America and Africa indicate that we are called on by Providence to employ the means and accomplish the work. Good, it is true, may be done while the slave trade continues, because it has been done. Missionaries have carried the religion of Jesus to some of her tribes, and the redeemed both on earth and in heaven, attest that they have not carried it in vain. Instances are not wanting of Africans, over whose brutal and ferocious features civilization had never shed one softening ray, who have surrendered themselves up to the pure and peaceful influences of our religion. The tiger has as much pity as had old Africaner, yet he became one of the loveliest specimens of Christian character. Still the good which has been effected, and we give full credit for it all, has been occasional and local, and had no permanent bearing on the great mass of the population. As long as the slave trade shall continue, a sense of the insecurity of life and property pervading the minds of the African people, will frustrate our endeavours to civilize them. Even in our own country, we find the march of improvement slow and difficult, and it would cease but for the security of life and property. Africa may be compared to a family which suspends all improvement while a law suit is pending, or disease threatens the life of one of its prominent members. Even in our own happy country, (happy far beyond any which the sun shines on) the kind mother ventures to leave her house with none in it but her infant in its cradle, and the family lie down to sleep with unbolted doors. And why? 'Tis because the shield of the laws is over her infant, and the moral sense of the community is the protection of the family. Look at Africa, and you see a perfect contrast. What more common scene *there*, than that of a neighbourhood filled with horror and dismay, villages surprised and fired;—the inhabitants, while the conflagration glares upon them—some perishing—some escaping,—others more ill-fated, bound and on their way to the slave ship, which lies waiting to receive them. We sympathize with good old Jacob, bereaved and afflicted, when his son was sold into slavery. But have we no hearts for the thousands of Jacobs in Africa, who are lamenting that Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and that Benjamin, too, the man stealer has taken away. Mothers, so alive to sympathy, how many Rachels in Africa are now weeping and refusing to be comforted, because their children are

not, the man stealer has taken them away? We have asylums for orphans. But who shall gather the uncounted orphans of Africa? Methinks if we could pass over Africa we should see many children weeping over the ashes of their houses, or laying their heads at the feet of their beautiful palm trees to weep over murdered parents, or over the worse fate to which slavery has consigned their parents. I have glanced at the reasons why Africa cannot be radically improved while the slave trade continues. Let me illustrate this still further. Suppose the case of Africa our own. Suppose our country were thrown into apprehension—a hundred towns laid in ashes, and ten thousand of our people carried into hopeless slavery. Would not our plans of improvement quickly perish? Would not our projects, our roads, schools, banks, courts, be neglected? Would not even our Legislators desert their public duties, to guard their homes and families from the incendiary and man stealer? But such is the condition of Africa,—not for one year only, but for centuries has it been such—and such will it continue to be, until the slave trade shall be abolished. How is this trade to be abolished?

Experience teaches that no laws, no treaties stop it, though much more might be done, than has been done. By laws and treaties it is already denounced, and yet nearly 100,000 slaves are annually taken from Africa, the victims of cormorant never-sated avarice. The slave trade will exist so long as it can exist. So long as there are slave ships, there will be slaves to freight them. No peril of property or life will induce the slave trader to abandon it. To suppress this trade, it must be made physically impossible. We must line the Western coast of Africa, with civilized settlements. Two such already exist. I pass over Sierra Leone.—Ours exerts a two-fold influence. On the one hand, it elevates the neighbouring tribes and enlists them in its suppression; on the other, it presents to the slave trader, whose soul no moral suasion can reach, an effectual barrier. The flag that waves on Cape Montserado, proclaims to the slave trader, that there is one spot, even in Africa, consecrated to freedom—one spot which his polluting foot shall not tread. The single fact, that during the last 12 or 18 months, 100 of the native children have been sent to the schools of the Colony, shows that we have not overrated the happy influence which it exerts on the tribes in its vicinity, and that the slave traders scarce dare to land within fifty miles of the Colony, proves that we have not exaggerated the terrors with which this settlement strikes them, and the power which it exerts for putting down their horrid traffic.

Such are the means and the only means, by which the slave trade can be abolished. And let me add, that it is by the continued operation of these means that Africa is to be enlightened. Every emigrant to Africa (said Mr. Clay) is a missionary going forth with his credentials in the holy cause

of Civilization and Religion and free Institutions, and the colonies which we will establish, will be so many points, from which the beams of Christianity and Civilization will radiate on all that black empire of ignorance and sin. These influences must be poured in from the Western coast. The Northern boundary is within the dominion of the false Prophet, and no light is to be expected from that direction. If we look towards its eastern border, we look to the region and shadow of death. I have time but to glance at a few of the reasons which might be adduced in support of my remaining position, that Providence calls upon us to regenerate Africa.

One reason is, that in our colored population, we have most abundant materials, and, from their acquaintance with our excellent Institutions, better materials than are to be found elsewhere for Colonists.

Another reason is, the pressing and vital importance of relieving ourselves as soon as practicable, from this most dangerous element in our population.

Another reason is, that we are under pre-eminent obligations to serve Africa, because we have surpassed all others in afflicting and wronging her. I do not mean the South only, for the time has not been long gone by when Northern merchants found their most lucrative gains from this atrocious traffic. So far from reproaching the South with the evil of her coloured population, I admit that the North owes her exemption, not to a better morality, but to colder skies and a less fertile soil.

I said in my opening remarks, that the blessings our Society will confer on Africa, must reflect immensely favorable, if not indispensable, influences on the direct operations of the Society. It is evident, that, just in proportion as Africa rises in the scale of improvement, will be the desire of our Blacks to return to her. The dread of going to a land of barbarians is now the commonest objection amongst them to our Colonization scheme. But let those barbarians be converted into civilized beings,—and their dread of going to Africa will be converted into a desire to go there. There is another and still more important respect in which this reflect influence is to be viewed. Whence the apathy, that pervades our country in relation to our black population? If the Greeks are suffering, we can feel for them across a space of 5 or 6000 miles, and minister to their necessities. Nor can our handful of Indians suffer real or apparent wrongs, without arousing the sympathies of the Nation.—But who are there to feel for our 2,000,000 Blacks?—more than five-sixths of whom are in bondage, and the other sixth incapable of freedom on our soil. And why are they not more felt for? The ready answer is, because the African race is despised; because of the vague impression, that the descendants of Ham are inherently and naturally inferior to ourselves and others, the self-complacent children of Shem and Japhet. But, let Africa begin to enter upon the redemption of a character, which guilty Christian nations have, for centuries, combined to keep down to the lowest

point of degradation; and she will begin to be respected, and the condition of her outcast children on our shores will awaken a livelier sympathy. And when Africa shall have put on the garments of civilization, and the influences of her regeneration shall be felt throughout this land, our most tenacious and obstinate slave-holder will shrink from the relation he bears to her children. The poor creature, whom he formerly regarded as but a few removes above the brute, will now present himself before the new associations of his master's mind as his fellow-man and his equal—and the slave will be permitted to go free. And then will even such slave-holder be as willing as other slave-holders to aid in returning our blacks to their father-land.

I am persuaded, Sir, that here is a point on which I do not say, that our Society should lay its greatest stress and its most sanguine hopes—(for our Society has nothing to do directly with the question of slavery,) but I do say that it is a point, on which they, who desire the abolition of slavery in our country, should lay their greatest stress and their most sanguine hopes. The principle is almost as true in relation to our blacks, as it is to water. They cannot rise above their source. They cannot rise in our esteem above the level of the moral state of the land of their origin—for we are ever associating them with that land, which is their appropriate, their only home. But let Africa become civilized, and there will be the same moral impossibility in the way of our continuing to hold her children in bondage, that we should have to encounter in an attempt to reduce Englishmen or Frenchmen to bondage on our shores. It is because Africa is too ignorant to know that we wrong her. It is because her debasement is so great, that she is insensible to the shame we pour upon her, that we presume to hold her and her people so cheap.—Whilst the honor of civilized nations is alive to the least indignities cast upon their subjects—poor Africa might say, in the language of inspiration: "They have stricken me, and I was not sick; they have beaten me, and I felt it not—when shall I awake?"

We admit that in this way, that is, through the renovation of Africa, the Colonization Society may exert an important influence on the question of slavery—an influence, which may yet compass the abolition of slavery in our land. But, mark you, Sir, it is a way that leads through a change—through the willingness of the master's mind, and, therefore, he cannot object to it. Whilst the Society protests that it has no designs on the rights of the master in the slave—or the property in his slave, which the laws guarantee to him—it does nevertheless admit, and joyfully admit, that the successful prosecution of the object of the Society must produce moral influences and moral changes leading to the voluntary emancipation of the slave, not only in our country, but throughout the world.

I am aware, that there are persons, whom it does not satisfy to know,

that our Society has no other object but the removal of our present and future free black population to Africa. The Colonization Society is an offensive Institution to them, because, as they maintain, it agitates the question of slavery. Such persons are unwilling to have the subject of slavery considered even in its most abstract form. But, Sir, the subject of slavery is one, that will be considered: it will be felt on, and thought on, and spoken on. We must first blow out the lights of this age, and turn backward the swift wheel of improvement, and quench the spirit, that is now so fearlessly searching out abuses both in the old world and the new, before such a subject as slavery can be prevented from coming under the public consideration. And the slave-holder, so far from having just cause to complain of the Colonization Society, has reason to congratulate himself, that in this Institution a channel is opened up, in which the public feeling and public action can flow on, without doing violence to his rights. The closing of this channel might be calamitous to the slave-holder beyond his conception: for the stream of benevolence that now flows so innocently in it, might then break out in forms even far more disastrous than Abolition Societies, and all their kindred and ill-judged measures.

It is deeply painful to see how slow the people of our country are to wake up to this subject—a subject having such strong claims on their humane and patriotic and christian feelings. A single glance at these claims, shows that I do not overrate them. I ask, which is the most fruitful, infinitely most fruitful, source of our political dissensions? Do I hear our Southern brethren say, as some of them are accustomed to say—"the North has nothing to do with this subject of black population—and all their solicitude about it, is meddling and officious." I reply, the North has something to do with this subject. The evil is ours as well as theirs: the multitude of blacks in our towns in the North attests, that we have a share in this evil. The fact, that although the black population in our Northern States is probably not more than a fortieth part of our whole population, yet, that about one-sixth to one-fourth of our convicts and paupers are blacks, attests that we have a share in this evil. The severe legislation, (I will not say, that, under all the circumstances, it is too severe)—the severe legislation of the slave states, which drives their emancipated blacks into the free states and scatters the nuisance there, attests that we have a share in this evil. And I ask in all kindness, if, in view of this legislation, it is not with an ill grace that Southern lips rebuke our complaints of this evil? But we will take a more elevated and patriotic view of the subject to show, that the free States share with the slave States in this immeasurable evil. The members of our Republic are so intimately united, that in the language of the Apostle: "whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it." And when the Northern traitor to the Union says, "let the Southern tier of States, with this immeasurable evil upon them, separate from the Union"—we reply, that the patriot, who

loves his country, would as soon consent to lose a member of his person as a portion of that territory, the whole of which is consecrated to his affections—in view of the whole of which it is, that he exclaims with the Poet:

“This is my own, my native land.”

And how important is it, as it respects our character abroad, that we hasten to clear our land of our black population? We boast, that our country is the great moral and political light-house of the world, whose beams are guiding the nations of the earth to freedom and happiness. But how much brighter would those beams shine—how much more consistent and powerful would be our example, but for that population within our limits, whose condition, (*necessary* condition, I will not deny) is so much at war with our institutions, and with that memorable national declaration—“that all men are created equal.”

In conclusion, what cause is so well suited as the American Colonization Society, to make a powerful appeal to the American Christian? For it is not only the 2,000,000 of blacks in our country, whose spiritual interests it invites him to serve—but it is the hundred millions of immortal beings in Africa, to whom it gives him access. And Africa must be Christianized. When I look at the sins of our country against her, I feel how needful it is for our own sake, that she be Christianized—that she be taught that divine art of forgiveness, which belongs to the Christian only.

Mr. Smith then offered the following resolution, which was adopted.

Resolved, That the American Colonization Society commends itself to great favor by the immense benefits it is conferring on Africa, and by the happy and powerful influences which these benefits must reflect on the direct operations of the Society.

Mr. DODDRIDGE, of Virginia, said,

MR. PRESIDENT: Not being a delegate to this meeting, I hardly know whether I have a right to offer a Resolution. I have not risen to make an address but to offer a few remarks of a general nature. I have heard much which I highly approve and some things, the utterance of which I regret. Enough has passed to convince all of the duty to aid the designs of this Society. Enough has been said and done by this Society to demonstrate the practicability of its scheme, at no very remote period. While convinced of the duty to promote this enterprise, the means and the constitutionality of applying them are plain and obvious. You, Sir, know that this is not an opinion of mine, of to-day, or of yesterday. Circumstances lead me to mention one historical fact, new perhaps to some. Whatever may be the opinions of others, and of your fellow-citizens of Virginia, as to the necessity and morality of acting, and as to the means required and to be sought, there was a time when the Legislative Councils of Virginia were unanimous. Twenty-three, twenty-five, and twenty-seven years

ago, Resolutions were adopted by both Houses of the General Assembly of Virginia, in secret session, which had for their object to call on the President of the United States, to use the treaty-making power, for the acquisition of a Territory in Africa, which might contain the black population of the United States. You have seen the record of these votes, by which, in solemn secret session, the united Councils of Virginia decided as to the duty of acting and the *modus operandi*. Fifteen years ago the power of the General Government was invoked by Virginia for this object, with almost Legislative unanimity. I deem it unnecessary to add to what has been already said. This Resolution will look to the means of acting. While it acknowledges the inadequacy of the present means of the Society, it invokes the Friends of this Institution to press upon the State Legislatures and upon the Congress of the United States the importance of the object, and to solicit of them the aids necessary for its accomplishment. In relation to the form in which this aid shall be obtained, I believe that many if not a majority of the citizens of Virginia would be willing to be taxed heavily to aid this Institution. None who know the general feeling will doubt that a tax would be cheerfully borne. I have no constitutional scruples. I would therefore seek the means of prosecuting our enterprise within the avowed and explicit design of the Society,—of acting on such of the colored population now free, or who may become free by no means or measures of ours.

He then offered the following resolution, which was adopted.

Resolved, That as this Society is constitutionally bound to co-operate, as far as practicable, in the prosecution of its object, with the General Government and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject; and as its own unaided power is inadequate to complete the work in which it is engaged, it be recommended to the friends of the Society throughout the country, to prepare and send in memorials in behalf of its object to their respective State Legislatures, and to the Congress of the United States.

The Rev. CALVIN COLTON, of Massachusetts, said,

MR. PRESIDENT: In looking at the unnatural relations between the citizens of these States, and our colored population, and in estimating the comparative increase of the numbers and physical strength of the latter, it is natural if not unavoidable for the philanthropist and statesman to feel a deep concern at the aspects, which the facts of the case present. Our slave population is more than 2,000,000, with an annual increase of 60,000, more or less. The free blacks are nearly 300,000, with an annual increase of six or seven thousand. That this is an evil, no man, in his sober senses, can doubt. It is equally true, that it is a growing, and I hope I may say without offence, a portentous evil. The patriot asks, and humanity asks, where is the remedy?—Is there any remedy within the range of possibility?—any invented?—any instituted?

The only thing, Sir, the only machinery which has been put in opera-

tion, or even propounded with hope of success, is the American Colonization Society, whose professed object it is to drain the country of free blacks. And it is a problem yet to be solved, whether any Institution, or measures more hopeful, can be invented and applied to this purpose.

This Society, Sir, was formed in 1816. It has struggled along from that time, passing the ordeals of general indifference, and varied opposition, gradually securing the attention, and gaining upon the sympathies and confidence of the public. In the mean time, and in the very cradle of its infancy, with only two-penny contributions, the mere toy-money of children, it has accomplished one of the most interesting, sublime and hopeful experiments, which the world ever saw. The planting, growth, and successful establishment of the Colony of Liberia, conflicting equally, as it has been obliged, with the warring elements of nature, and with the groveling and depraved policies of man—policies barbarian and civilized; stands up before the world an unexampled triumph of *principle*. What but principle, Sir, could have originated and sustained so humble, and in view of the giddy and ambitious world, so despicable an enterprise, as this seemed to be in its primitive stage?—What but principle, a sublime and unappreciated moral courage, could have led the heroic Ashmun to that grave of his earthly expectations—and as it has been proved to be, though unforeseen by him, equally the theatre of his immortal honour, as the place of his martyrdom? Sir, when first I read the achievements of that man, it seemed to me like romance;—and I remember to have said:—a few generations to come, and I would rather have the honours of his name as a hero, than the name of Napoleon. And now, Sir, I will add:—that when the once-fragrant renown of the Conqueror of Europe, shall have degenerated into absolute putrescence, the name of the founder of Liberia, will be seen in characters bright and enduring as the stars, and it will be sung too, a most enviable destiny, by millions of exulting and thankful hearts.

Yes, Sir: the establishment of the Colony of Liberia, is a triumph of *principle*, and that not only in the persevering and unyielding virtue of the instruments, but also in the respect—the reverence, which has been paid to it by an impartial world. Look, Sir. Yonder, on the naked, and exposed coast of Africa—that region of the globe, which knows no law but passion—where the wickedness of man, the most fell and the deadliest, prowls with impunity—*there* stands and flourishes, and is fast rising into importance, a civil and well-ordered community of Africans! And if you ask, what is their government?—The answer is:—*principle*. And if you ask, what is their protection?—The answer is:—the respect of the world. Who, acquainted with the history of that long abused race, does not feel awed in view of such a spectacle?—Every pirate ship that swims the Ocean, and every slave ship (which is also a pi-

rate) *knows*, that the Colony of Liberia has no protection, but the respect of the world—and no law, but the force of her own public opinion. But they dare not fall upon her, even though she is their declared, and often most fatal enemy.

The Colony of Liberia, Sir, is governed and protected by the American Colonization Society—by our voice uttered here, and uttered any where. A strange spectacle, indeed! Who, uncertified of the fact, would believe it?

There is in my mind, a moral grandeur, beaming out from that point of the shore of Africa, which I know not how to express. It is a bright spot, set upon the margin of an immense region, a region overhung for ages uncounted with one unbroken cloud of darkness—a cloud heavy and deep as creation's night. And it is a light, Sir, which this Society has kindled there, and kept burning there, and till this hour it grows brighter and brighter, and now promises to show its blaze along those shores, and back into those regions, until that deep and vast Continent, from Cape de Verde to Gaudelfui, and from the shores of the Mediterranean to the Cape of Good Hope, shall stand up disenthralled, emancipated, regenerate. What man, susceptible and ambitious of high endeavour—what nation or people would not covet to participate in such an enterprise?

I humbly think, Sir—and I dare to say, standing even in this august chamber, (and here is the fittest place to say it)—if the Colony of Liberia cannot be *protected* by this nation, she ought to realise its patronage—its efficient patronage;—a patronage, adequate not only to its necessities there, but to drain the mighty flood of coloured population, that is pouring itself upon this land:—to drain it, I mean, so far as would not interfere with the rights of property in the slave, and the freedom of the free,—by wholesome moral inducements—inducements sanctioned by the unanimous voice of all concerned. The act of Congress of 1819, doubtless contemplates this patronage, as well as that it magnanimously recognises the moral obligation of this nation to engage in this work, in consideration of the guilt of our ancestors, in the slave trade—a guilt involving a responsibility entailed upon us their children. If, indeed, there be any responsibility in the common sin of the world, which has been done to Africa, a portion of that responsibility doubtless rests upon this nation;—and the world and God will hold us accountable. And we cannot begin too soon, nor be too earnest in the work of atonement. And as a *political* measure, it is equally the interest, as it is the high and sacred duty of this Republic, to lay its hand upon this mighty evil—to apply all convenient political medicaments to this social and political deformity—a deformity which grows with our growth, and strengthens with our strength;—a monster upon the body politic, hideous in its aspects, constraining in its influences on the social system, and absorbing the vital energies of the community.

Were I permitted to use the voice of a legislator within these walls upon this interesting and momentous theme, and if it were necessary, I would invoke the spirit of my country—of her patriotic and mighty dead. Yes, Sir, like the elder Chatham, who was *carried* from his sick chamber to the British House of Lords, that he might enter his solemn protest against a meditated and infamous project in relation to these American Colonies—like *him*, though for a different purpose, I would “invoke,” not alone, nor principally “the Genius of the Constitution;”—but for the purpose of such an occasion, I would especially challenge the Genius of our Declaration of Independence—of that instrument, which, be it remembered, makes a nation’s oath—a nation’s solemn and direct appeal to the High Providence above—an appeal, all the responsibilities of which were assumed in the face of the world, and under the most memorable, dependent, aye, Sir, *dependent*, and affecting circumstances. And then, unless it could be proved, that the African is not a man—I would adjure my countrymen to acquit themselves of their duty to the African race.

In the project of the American Colonization Society, Sir, the only question is:—what is its promise, as a remedy for the evil, which it assays to alleviate?—Something we feel must be done, and soon done, and with mighty effort. If there be any other expedient of better promise—why, then, let us have it. But where is it to be found?—If none—here is an actual experiment all made to our hands. The scheme is matured—the door opened, a channel is made—and the tax of transporting every free black in our country, and as fast as they are made free, would not be formidable, in case of the prosperity of the Colony. Nay, on such condition, the motives of emigration might, and in all probability, would by and by become sufficient to sustain the enterprise with little or no draft either on the public Treasury, or on the resources of benevolence. In six weeks any coloured man might earn his passage.

And though the commencement of the enterprise be a public tax, we should regard it as only a small fraction of the mighty debt we owe that land. And there is the *glory* of enlightening and redeeming Africa. Is that nothing? And besides this, the work accomplished, would make the best chapter of political economy, wrought out, that was ever added to our experimental text book. For, who does not know and feel, that besides the portentous aspects of our rapidly accumulating coloured population, the free blacks, by the moral necessity of their civil disabilities are and must forever be a nuisance—equally, and more to the owner of *slaves*, than to other members of the community. They have no proper motives to ambition, or to elevate their character. And the only effect of the little labour they accomplish is to *vitalize* labour.

If, Sir, we love our country, we shall listen to the claims of this Institution, and of that unfortunate race, whom it has so nobly taken under its patronage. If we feel our own share in the public responsibility for the

injuries of this race, we shall tremble at the tardiness of this enterprise. For there is a high and mighty Providence above, chaining to his throne, by ties of indissoluble responsibility, the communities and nations of this earth, obliging them, under the most fearful penalties, to the adoption and use of the principles of his own pure and beneficent government.

I imagine, Sir—nay, methinks I *see* the guardian spirit of Africa—of suffering, bleeding Africa, (if indeed there be a guardian spirit there)—Yes, methinks I see it waking from its long—*long* night—rising from its bed of despair, by the gleam of hope, which *you* have kindled in its bosom, and stretching out its imploring hands to America. And, Sir, it is for *us* to decide the fearful question—whether it shall lift those hands in vain—whether, pierced with disappointment, it shall fall back again into those cruel arms which have so long held it in perpetual agony.

Mr. COLTON then offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the enterprise to which this Society is consecrated, is of such importance to its immediate objects, to our Country, and to the cause of humanity in general, and its want of means to extend its operations and advance its designs, so imperative—as in a peculiar manner, to claim the auxiliary efforts of the Benevolent and the efficient patronage of our General Government.

The Hon. Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey, then said,

Mr. PRESIDENT: At this late, hour I beg the privilege of a very few words. The Resolution which I am about to offer, regards the suppression of the slave trade and our duty as christians and as men, with respect to this tremendous evil. As has been stated in the Report, most Christian Nations have united in distinct expressions of abhorrence of this traffic; and several have threatened it with all the penalties of piracy and employed a part of their naval forces to suppress it. In this noble enterprise, England, France and the United States have concurred. But it seems that the occasional interruption to which this trade has been subjected, has but aggravated its enormity, and perhaps increased its extent, and when we consider the spirit which prompts to this trade there is no cause for wonder.

It is avarice which feeds the spirit that animates the slave trade, and we all know that this is of all passions the most base and inveterate. It almost lives beyond the grave.

What cares it for the cries of afflicted humanity!—It has sold its country, betrayed the Saviour, and for thirty pieces of silver it would betray a world. The congregated navies of the world, I fear, can never suppress this traffic. And must we therefore mourn over it and sit down in despair? I trust not. Light begins to beam upon us; Africa pleads her own wrongs, and God in his providence has opened a door for a mighty deliverance. It may be considered as enthusiasm, but I love to cherish such enthusiasm. Let the coast of Africa be once studded with settlements of emancipated and christian men, and a bulwark would be reared against

the slave trade more effective than a thousand navies. Was ever it heard that white men were surprised and borne away in slave ships as the subjects of this traffic? The answer and the reason of it point to the mode of relief. We must plead the cause of Africa on her own shores. We must enlighten the Africans themselves on the nature of this evil. We must raise in their minds a fixed abhorrence of its enormities. There will be no ships with human cargoes if we cut off the supply. We must by our settlements point the African kidnapper to a more profitable commerce than that in the blood and heartstrings of his fellow men. This, it will be said, requires time. It *will* require time, but not so many years as bear record against us for our countenance of this horrid commerce. We have one flourishing settlement. And I rejoice to say, in this Legislative Hall of my country, I congratulate here the friends of this Society, that a way is opening before us by which we may wipe off the stains of guilt that now abide upon us.

He then offered the following resolution, which was adopted.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting the slave trade is not to be suppressed, without more united and vigorous exertions on the part of the several governments of christendom, and that both Humanity and Religion, invoke all conscientious and enlightened statesmen to consider and adopt more effectual measures, for putting down forever this abominable traffic.

The Hon. Mr. BATES, of Massachusetts, said:

He rose not for the purpose of addressing the Society, but of offering a resolution. As the representative of one of its branches, he had been honoured with an invitation to take part in the discussion of the evening, but he had declined it. Not that he felt no interest in the occasion, nor that the Society he represented felt none: Quite the contrary. The object is great and glorious—one that interests the heart and commands the approbation and the admiration of every friend of the human family—one, however, that will require a great, and concentrated, and mighty effort for its accomplishment, and towards which, what this Society has done, is only preliminary and preparatory. But, he said, considering the State from which he came, the delicate nature of the subject under consideration in its connection and bearing upon other subjects, and the sensitive feeling of a portion of the public in relation to it, he thought he could best subserve the interests of the Society by remaining silent. He remarked that they, in Massachusetts, were willing to follow in the path which we might trace for them—to labor in such a cause whenever, and wherever, and however we might direct, without wishing to dictate or advise. That it was an object deep in the hearts of many of the people of his State, but one with which the people of the South are best acquainted, and in which most interested, and therefore that they were content to act in entire subordination to the views of the Society. He observed that his relation to the Auxiliary Societies required him to state that the Resolution he was about to offer, was put into his hands for that purpose; and he only regretted

that those Societies had not higher claims to the acknowledgment it involves. He offered the following Resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the various Auxiliary Societies for their generous efforts and contributions in aid of the great enterprise of this Institution.

On motion of Hon. Mr. WILLIAMS, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be given to the Rev. Clergy of the U. States, for their efficient aid in promoting the objects of this Society, and that they be earnestly solicited to take up collections annually for its benefit, on the 4th of July.

The Meeting drawing near its close, Mr. CUSTIS again addressed the Chair, as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: I hope I may be indulged, as an old and faithful servant in the cause, with a few additional remarks. It might appear from some parts of the addresses to which we have listened, that the people of the Southern States were responsible in their own proper persons, for the evils which have been imposed upon them by others. I rise, Sir, to vindicate my native country.

Let it be remembered, that the evil which we have inherited, was brought upon us against our remonstrances and our prayers, by our ancient Rulers. Sir, it was while our ancestors were British subjects, that this evil was brought upon us. The Colonists remonstrated in their legislative capacity and through the Press; but no, the interest, the revenue of the Mother Country required the trade.

Permit me to say to our Northern friends, that some amiable feelings are to be found in Southern bosoms. We ardently pray to be delivered from the evil of slavery, and hope the hour of deliverance will come.—Let not, then, blows be inflicted, which we do not deserve. I trust that this noble charity has at length opened the way, by which we may be saved from our heaviest calamity. If there is any better mode of acting on this subject, we will honour the discoverer, abandon our views, and adopt his.

Some benevolent minds in the overflowings of their philanthropy, advocate amalgamation of the two classes, saying, let the coloured class be freed, and remain among us as denizens of the Empire; surely all classes of mankind are alike descended from the primitive parentage of Eden, then why not intermingle in one common society as friends and brothers. No, Sir, no. I hope to prove at no very distant day, that a Southron can make sacrifices for the cause of Colonization beyond seas; but for a Home Department in those matters, I repeat, no, Sir, no. What right, I demand, have the children of Africa to an homestead in the white man's country? If, as is most true, the crimes of the white man robbed Africa of her sons, let atonement be made by returning the descendants of the stolen to the clime of their ancestors, and then all the claims of redeeming justice will have been discharged. There let centuries of future rights atone for cen-

turies of past wrongs. Let the regenerated African rise to Empire; nay, let Genius flourish, and Philosophy shed its mild beams to enlighten and instruct the posterity of Ham, returning "redeemed and disenthralled," from their long captivity in the New World. But, Sir, be all these benefits enjoyed by the African race under the shade of their native palms.— Let the Atlantic billow heave its high and everlasting barrier between their country and ours. Let this fair land, which the white man won by his chivalry, which he has adorned by the arts and elegancies of polished life, be kept sacred for his descendants, untarnished by the footprint of him who hath even been a slave. Sir, a mighty appeal is about being made for Africa, both in Europe and here; may it be as successful as the warmest, nay wildest dreams of Poetry or Philanthropy could desire it to be, and new states and nations spring up, and be multiplied; but let them be in the land of the Lion, Sir, not where the Eagle his eyry builds.

At every Anniversary Meeting, there has been cause to congratulate this Society upon its rise, progress, and success; we may now rejoice that the experiment has been fully tried; that the project of colonizing Free Persons of Colour on the Coast of Africa, has been fairly weighed in the balance, and has not been found wanting; for behold, where yesterday stretched a dark and dismal coast, is now heard the busy hum of industry; the arts are there, too, with education, and the blessed influences of Christianity; all, all now flourish, where of late was only the desert gloom of barbarism. And if a few short years have accomplished so much, what may not half a century do. But let us admit that a century will be requisite to complete the mighty work. I repeat, in this Palace of the Supreme Legislature, that no century in the many which I trust will occur in the long enduring age of our Empire, will more proudly adorn the historic page, than that which embraces in its annals the annihilation of slavery.

Sir, permit me to say, that the remarks made by our worthy friend and most liberal benefactor, (Mr. Gerrit Smith,) have done honor to this Association. From that gentleman, we have heard a great deal to admire in feelings and sentiments which are truly American. But let me say, that some allowances should be made for those who, in point of local situation, are not so happy as himself. When from the land where dwells the free-man only, you gaze around you, you behold a country thickly peopled, and all delighting in the business and enjoyment of social and individual life. 'Tis a sunny scene, Sir, without a single cloud to obscure its resplendent sky. Such may our worthy friend enjoy from the heights of Oneida, and long may he live to enjoy it. I greet him well, that his lot has been cast in such "pleasant places," and that his region has not endured the misfortunes of ours. Happier, far happier is his lot, than if a Southern atmosphere had tanned his cheek. Yet, with all our misfortunes, Sir, I hope time will prove, that we have some redeeming qualities; and should Heaven bless our honest endeavours, we shall leave to our pos-

terity, a better inheritance than we received from our ancestors. A new spirit is awakened, and walks abroad in our land. Light shines, and the mists of error are clearing away. We trust that from the influences of this magnificent charity, ours will in time be no longer the land of the slave.

May it please that Providence, which, through so many trials, has preserved the old, the venerable South, the land of genius and patriotism, the home of the high-minded and hospitable, still to protect her destinies, and give speed to this benign Institution, which never will cause to humanity a tear, and may give joy and happiness to millions.

On motion by REV. DR. LAURIE, it was

Resolved, That the noble resolution and energy, with which the Pennsylvania Society, and especially the citizens of Philadelphia have assisted the endeavours of this Society, deserve to be remembered with gratitude and held up before the public as most worthy of universal imitation.

On motion by W. W. SEATON, Esq. it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be presented to Richard Smith, the Treasurer, for his long continued, able and gratuitous services.

On motion by HON. MR. WHITTLESEY, seconded by J. S. Benham, Esq.

Resolved, That this meeting approves of the consistency with which the Managers have adhered to the originally avowed object of the Society as expressed in its constitution, "the colonizing (with their own consent) the free people of colour of the U. States on the coast of Africa or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient," and that it believes the success of the Society to depend in future on a strict adherence to its original principles.

The following are the remarks of Mr. Benham, on seconding the Resolution:

MR. PRESIDENT: In rising to second the resolution just submitted by my honorable friend from Ohio, it is not my intention to participate in the discussion of the very interesting topics which have been presented for consideration. The benevolence of your noble enterprise—its practicability—its peaceful character—its compatibility with existing rights of dominion, as acknowledged by our political institutions, and its meritorious claims upon the justice, patriotism, and humanity of our country, have been judiciously and eloquently portrayed by the honorable Delegate from New York (Mr. Smith). I trust that gentleman will pardon me for expressing the sincere pleasure and satisfaction I felt, in common I am sure with every friend of Colonization, in listening to his just and statesman-like exposition of the views and objects of your Society. It was indeed, Sir, well calculated to put to flight the unjust suspicions and calumnies which have lately been cast upon it and its friends, from a quarter not anticipated by the patriots under whose auspices it was established. I concur, Sir, in the sentiment which the resolution before you contains, that the present prosperity and ultimate success of this Society depend upon a pertinacious adherence to the principles in which it was originally founded. Its primary object now is, and ever has been, to Colonize, with their own consent, *free People of Colour* on the Coast of Africa, or else-

where, as Congress may deem expedient. And, Sir, I am unwilling to admit, under any circumstances, and particularly in this *Hall*, that it ever has swerved from this cardinal object. It is true, that the friends of African Colonization ever have and do now anticipate that the moral influence of this Association will encourage *voluntary* emancipation; and by removing the evil against which the laws restricting emancipation were intended to guard, induce those States so distinguished for their chivalry and independence, not only to modify or abrogate those laws, but to enact others for the safe and gradual abolition of slavery—and thus in time to obliterate the only stain upon the freedom of our political institutions. It is equally true, Sir, that these sentiments were not only entertained by the primitive patrons of the Society, but promulgated to the world in its *first Annual Report*, in the speeches of its late much lamented President, (Judge Washington,) of Mr. Clay, of Mr. Randolph—as also in the letters of Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Harper. At the first meeting of the friends of Colonization, before your Constitution was adopted, Mr. Randolph remarked, that if a place could be provided for their reception, and a mode of sending them hence, there were hundreds, nay thousands, who would by manumitting their slaves relieve themselves from the cares attendant on their possession. Mr. Jefferson, in the letter referred to, now among the archives of your Society, states, “that he had long made up his mind on the subject of Colonization, and that he had ever thought *that* the most desirable measure which could be adopted for gradually drawing off this part of our population.” These being the sentiments of the patriotic and pious men who founded this Society, (always, however, protesting against any interference with the existing relations between master and slave,) it was one of the first charges brought against it, by the friends of *abolition*, that it was an ingeniously devised scheme of the slave states, to enhance the value of their slaves, and to *rivet* faster upon them the chains of bondage. The fact, Sir, that African Colonization was, many years before the organization of this Society, a subject of grave and solemn cogitation in the secret sessions of the Legislature of Virginia, and the consequent negotiations of Mr. Jefferson, while President of the U. States, at her request, with the British Colony of Sierra Leone, and the Portuguese, to procure territory for the purpose, abundantly evince the lively interest felt in the ancient dominion. Georgia and South Carolina too, were ranked among our early friends.

I have referred to these facts, which are connected with our early history, to repel a charge lately preferred against us by certain misguided politicians—that your Society has acted *perfidiously*, and in violation of the principles professed by its founders. Sir, it must be apparent to all, that nothing can be more gratuitous, than this accusation. As much as this Society desires to ameliorate the condition of that degraded *caste* of human beings, and to check the growth of that moral and political evil which awakens so much concern, I trust she will ever sedulously abstain

from taking a step calculated in the remotest degree to jeopard the domestic tranquillity of any portion of this *Union*; indeed, Sir, to ensure and perpetuate domestic peace and the integrity of our Union, are important *desiderata* in view.

Before I resume my seat, I deem it my duty, as a Representative of one of the oldest Auxiliaries in the West, to assure our friends on this side the mountains, that although the enterprise is gigantic, and our means comparatively small, we are not discouraged. Many of your Western friends are animated by a confidence and a zeal that will not soon be weary in well doing. Ours is a government of opinion, and its population is intelligent and curious; upon the subject of slavery and its concomitant evils the film is fast falling from the eyes of the people—the day cannot therefore be distant, when that which private charity has sown in weakness will be raised in strength, by public munificence. A few years ago the Society I now have the honor to represent, was formed under very inauspicious circumstances, even in the flourishing, public spirited, and enterprising city of Cincinnati. And now Ohio numbers upwards of eighty Auxiliaries. Who that has observed our prosperity within the last few years is so faint-hearted as to expect the dimming of our little *star*, which now shines between the burning tropics. Sir, Ethiopia must be civilized—until she is, we shall pray in vain for the abolition of the slave trade—or that her rights will be respected, or her wrongs redressed. Until the arts and sciences shall take root in her soil—until the gory crescent of Mahomet shall be supplanted by the Cross, her wailings and lamentations will not reach us—they will die away upon the ocean as they have done for centuries, like the scream of the lone sea-bird, for the want of a moral momentum to waft them across it.

On motion by Rev. WM. HAWLEY, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Hon. C. F. Mercer, for the able and dignified manner with which he has presided over the deliberations of this Society on its 14th Anniversary.

The Officers of the Society remain the same as during last year.



African Natural History.

THE HIPPOPOTAMUS.

"The flood disparts : behold ! in plaited mail,
Behemoth rears his head. Glanc'd from his side,
The darted steel in idle shivers flies :
He fearless walks the plain, or seeks the hills :
Where, as he crops his varied fare, the herds,
In widening circles round, forget their food,
And at the harmless stranger wondering gaze."

The Hippopotamus inhabits all the large rivers of Africa, from the Niger to the Cape of Good Hope, but is not found in

any of those which fall into the Mediterranean, except the Nile, and exists in that part of it only which runs through Upper Egypt, and the fens and lakes of Abyssinia and Nubia.

This amphibious animal has been celebrated from the remotest antiquity, and is mentioned in the Book of Job under the name of Behemoth; but although its figure is found engraven on Egyptian obelisks and Roman medals, it was imperfectly known to the ancient naturalists. Pliny, instead of correcting, has copied and even multiplied the errors of Aristotle, and the example has been imitated by succeeding writers.

As the Hippopotamus mostly resides at the bottom of great rivers, it is not easy to ascertain its size. M. Vaillant informs us, that one which he shot, measured from the muzzle to the insertion of the tail, ten feet seven inches, and eight feet in circumference, but from the smallness of its tusks, he supposed it to be a young one. Dr. Goldsmith says, that an Italian surgeon having procured one from the Nile, found it to measure seventeen feet in length, and sixteen round the body. Its height did not exceed seven feet, and the jaws, when extended, were two feet wide. Ray says, that its upper jaw is moveable like that of the crocodile. In each jaw it has four cutting teeth; it has also four large tusks: those of the under jaw, which are the largest, are sometimes above two feet long. The canine teeth are said to be so hard as to emit fire, when struck with steel: they are extremely white, and for the purpose of making artificial teeth, are preferred to ivory. The grinders are square or oblong, and weigh sometimes more than three pounds. The skin is of a dusky colour, and although less callous, is thicker than that of the rhinoceros, and is manufactured into whips. The tail is about a foot long, tapered and flattened at the end, which is thinly planted with bristly hairs. The legs are so short, that its belly almost touches the ground, and the hoofs are divided into four parts unconnected by membranes. Some writers represent the figure of this animal as an intermediate form, between the ox and the hog. The Hippopotamus, although little inferior in size to the elephant, and of a figure calculated to inspire terror, is formidable in appearance, rather than in reality. Its disposition is mild and gentle, except when provoked or wounded. When this happens in the water, where its activity

is equal to its courage, it will rise and attack boats or canoes, in the most furious and fearless manner. Dampier says, that he has known one of these animals sink a boat full of people, by tearing a hole in the bottom with its tusks. On the land, its movements are heavy; and the method of taking it, is by digging pits in those parts through which it passes in its way to the river, when it returns from feeding.

These animals seldom go far from the rivers, unless their banks fail of affording them a sufficiency of food. In that case, they sometimes stray into cultivated grounds, where, like the rhinoceros and the elephant, they make dreadful havoc, as they not only devour an immense quantity of vegetable produce, but destroy still more by their feet, which support so enormous a ponderosity of body.

Professor Thunberg was informed by a respectable person at the Cape of Good Hope, that as he and a party were on a hunting expedition, they perceived a female hippopotamus come out of one of the rivers, and retire to a little distance, in order to calve. They concealed themselves among some bushes till the calf and its mother made their appearance, when one of them fired, and shot the latter dead on the spot. The Hottentots, supposing they might now seize the calf alive, immediately ran from their hiding-place; but the young animal, though only just brought into the world, eluded their pursuit, and plunged safely into the river. This the professor justly observes, was a singular instance of pure instinct; for the creature unhesitatingly ran to the river, as its proper place of security, without having received any previous instructions from the action of its parent.

The Egyptians have a curious method of freeing themselves, in some measure, from this destructive animal. They lay a quantity of peas about the places which he chiefly frequents; and when the creature comes ashore hungry and voracious, he begins eating in the nearest place, and greedily devours the peas, till they occasion the most insupportable thirst. He then rushes into his favourite element, and drinks so copiously, that the peas in his stomach swell so much as very soon afterwards to terminate his existence.

It is said, that these creatures are capable of being tamed; and Belon asserts, that he has seen one so gentle as to be let

out of a stable, and led by its keeper, without attempting to injure any one.

The flesh of the hippopotamus is tender and well tasted, and by the colonists of the Cape settlement, esteemed exceedingly wholesome. The gelatinous parts of the feet and tongue, when dried, are considered as great delicacies.

[*Bigland's History of Animals.*



Philanthropic Example.

We have received the following statement from a source which entitles it to entire credit. We hope that Dr. Hamilton will be encouraged to prosecute his disinterested and christian and important labours; and we hope also that the African Education Society, which has already commenced a School in this District, to prepare young men of colour for usefulness in Africa, will receive the patronage which it so well merits.

The desire of doing justice to the character of a friend, and to encourage the patrons of the scheme of African Colonization, induces me to communicate the following information.

Ten or twelve years ago, Dr. Silas Hamilton, of Mississippi, purchased in the state of Maryland, nine thousand dollars worth of slaves, and employed them for some years on his plantation in the neighbourhood of Natchez. He had not owned them long before he felt it his duty to manumit them, but how to accomplish this consistently with the interests of the community, and the happiness of the slave, was a difficult matter. As the best means of effecting his benevolent designs, he offered them to the American Colonization Society, to be transported to Liberia. But they were obliged to refuse them for the want of sufficient funds to bear the expense of their transportation. In 1828 Dr. Hamilton brought them to Cincinnati, and there emancipated them, 22 in number. In 1830 he paid them a visit, and saw painful reason to fear that he had conferred upon them a very equivocal benefit.

But his feelings and the feelings of his amiable wife had become so much interested in their behalf, and in behalf of their unfortunate race, that they determined to devote the remainder of their lives and fortune to the improvement of their condition. To this end, they purposed purchasing land in Illinois, and esta-

blishing a labor school to rear up young slaves and qualify them for usefulness in Liberia, by giving them instruction in letters, agriculture and the mechanic arts, as far as practicable on the plan pursued by the illustrious Fellenberg of Hoffwyl in Switzerland. Dr. H. informed the writer that he could without difficulty procure gratuitously any number of young slaves say, 80 or 100, in Mississippi and Louisiana, from masters who would esteem it a privilege to make so good a provision for them without expense to themselves.

Last summer I received a letter from Dr. H. communicating the afflicting intelligence of the death of his wife, who had been his faithful companion and counsellor for upwards of thirty years. This calamity seemed to have severed almost the only tie that bound him to this world. He, however, said that he had not abandoned his project. He had purchased a tract of land near the junction of the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, was erecting his buildings, and had with him a portion of his emancipated slaves. I have not since heard from him, but think it of importance to communicate even thus much to the public, both for the sake of the example, and that Dr. Hamilton may receive from an enlightened community that encouragement and co-operation which may be necessary to make his philanthropic efforts extensively useful.



Agency of R. S. Finley, Esq.

The following letter from this gentleman, who has just visited Washington on his way to Cincinnati, exhibits many encouraging facts, and must animate the hearts of the friends of our Society.

WASHINGTON CITY, 11th February, 1831.

DEAR SIR: In my last communication, not having at hand my memorandum book, I omitted several important matters which I will now supply.

In August last I formed an Auxiliary Society in Springfield, Hamilton county, Ohio—Officers, Luke Foster, *President*; Andrew Thomson, *Secretary*; Thomas Smith, *Treasurer*. I also formed Auxiliaries at Mount Healthy, and New Burlington, Hamilton county—Officers of the New

Burlington Society, John McGilliard, *President*; James Carnahan, *Vice-President*; James McFeely, *Secretary*; and William S. Carnahan, *Treasurer*.

I found in Ohio, many individuals, principally members of the Bar and Clergymen, who volunteered their services to form Auxiliary Societies in their respective neighbourhoods. From one of these, Edward Jolley, Esq. of Cincinnati, a young gentleman of talents, learning, and ardent philanthropy, I received, in November last, the following gratifying intelligence by letter, viz: "I have formed a little society in Sharon; a like one in Reading; one consisting of about forty members in M'Cormick's settlement, and one in Madison, of about twenty members," (all in Hamilton county.) "I made a visit upon the subject to Cheviott, a little place a few miles from town, and delivered an address, but owing to the small number in attendance, it was thought best to postpone the formation of a society till another time, which they appointed to be on to-morrow. On Monday last I visited Montgomery for the second time, and gave them an address of considerable length. They have there a Society of about thirty members. I have an engagement to visit Mr. Hayden's congregation on Wednesday week, &c." If a few such gentlemen in every neighbourhood in our land, would imitate the example of Mr. Jolley, the entire success of the colonizing enterprise would soon be no longer a matter of doubt to its most timid friends.

In October last I formed a very promising society of eighty members, at Granville, Ohio—Officers, Rev. James Geltruth, *President*; Sereno Wright, *Secretary*; Dr. Bancroft, *Treasurer*—*Managers*, Maj. Chase, Rev. Jacob Little, William S. Richards, Chauncey Humphries, William Gavet, Rev. Allen Darrow, Samuel Bancroft, Elias Fassett, Charles Sawyer, Daniel Shepardson, T. M. Thomson, and Spencer Wright. I omitted to mention in my last letter, that I took up a collection at Cleaveland of \$10 56. At Victor, in New York, I delivered an address to a highly respectable audience, and was assured by the principal citizens of the place, that an Auxiliary Society would be formed. On Sunday, 30th ult. I formed a Society at Morristown, New Jersey, of more than a hundred members. On Sunday last I delivered an address at York, Pa. and on the subsequent day organized a Society, which I hope, will be efficient, as that place has the honor of having given to the Colonization enterprise the Rev. Samuel Bacon, and one or two others of its citizens, who were among its earliest friends and martyrs,—Officers, Penrose Robinson, *President*; Charles A. Morris, *Secretary*, John Voglesong, *Treasurer*.

I will now give you a succinct statement of my proceedings in the city of New York. Shortly after my arrival in that city, I was informed by Mr. G. P. Disosway, Corresponding Secretary of the Young Men's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that they were about to hold meetings in each of the Methodist churches in the city, for the purpose of raising money to establish and support a missionary and mission school in

Liberia. These meetings were subsequently held during my stay in the city, and by the request of the Managers, I was present at nearly all of them, and delivered addresses to them in relation to the operations and prospects of the American Colonization Society. I had the satisfaction to be informed that sufficient money had been secured to carry into effect their pious designs, and that a missionary would probably embark in the first vessel that may sail for Liberia next spring.

I had the pleasure to become personally acquainted with nearly all the Methodist Clergymen in New York, and found them to a man, deeply interested in the success of our enterprise. By virtue of a resolution passed at the Preachers' meeting, an opportunity was afforded me of addressing all their congregations from the pulpit on Sundays, of which I availed myself, as far as other pressing engagements, during my limited stay in the city, would admit of. It is with great pleasure that I record the existence of the same liberal spirit and active co-operation among the Clergy of other denominations, especially among the Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed, and Baptists; many of whose congregations I addressed; and was obliged to decline the invitations to address others, for want of time. If I have not suffered myself to be egregiously deceived, there is a noble emulation among christians of every name in that great city, not to be outdone in advancing the interests of this great enterprise of christian benevolence.

You have already been apprised of the organization of the New York Auxiliary Colonization Society, and the circumstances connected with its formation. You may perceive that among the resolutions passed at the late public meetings in that city, was one recommending the Board of Managers of the city society, to take measures for forming in every religious congregation in the city, branches auxiliary to it.

In pursuance of this resolution, I had the pleasure of organizing a branch society in the "Brick church," the annual subscription to which amounted to \$1000, or enough to transport 50 colonists computing the average expense at \$20 each. This amount has since been considerably increased, and sanguine hopes are entertained of swelling it to twice that amount; and this expectation seems reasonable from the well established character of the members of that church for their liberal patronage of every patriotic and pious enterprise, and from the fact that \$1000 was subscribed by thirteen of its number.

The Board of Managers of the city society will probably appoint an agent to carry into effect the above mentioned resolution—I would cheerfully have continued my feeble exertions in their behalf, but domestic and professional obligations make the necessity of my speedy return to Cincinnati imperative.

I will merely add that the city of New York affords so important and promising a field of labour that it should not for a single day escape the attention of the Parent Board.

Resolutions of the Board of Managers.

The Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society have considered their course of duty for the present year, and adopted the following resolutions:

Resolved, By the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, that encouraged by the kind Providence which has thus far favoured their efforts, they will immediately commence arrangements for obtaining the necessary funds, and sending to Liberia within the present year, six vessels, from different ports in the United States, on the first days of May, July, September, November, January, and March. The first vessel shall sail from New York on the first of May; the second from Baltimore, on the first of July; the third from Philadelphia, on the first of September; and the others from different places, whenever such places shall, with the aid of other means at the command of the Society, secure the requisite funds; such places to be designated in due time.

Resolved, That the Society's Agent in Liberia, be directed to ascertain whether settlements can be formed, by Colonists from Liberia, at Grand Bassa, Cape Palmas, or the Island of Bulama; and upon what terms, and in what manner, a sufficient and suitable territory can be obtained at all or either of those places, and what are the peculiar advantages and disadvantages of those situations, and give the earliest information in his power to the Board on these subjects. And that in the discharge of these duties, he may (if circumstances may permit it) associate with himself either of the Physicians now in the Colony.

The Board of Managers trust to the benevolence and patriotism of their countrymen to sustain them in these efforts in behalf of the two great objects embraced in these resolutions.

The accomplishment of the first will produce most beneficial results both here and in Africa. The state of suspense, in which many of the persons who had prepared for emigration, have been kept for several years, is exciting in many places very unfavourable impressions in the minds of the coloured people, and of the friends of the Society. These impressions can only be removed by gratifying the long-repeated wishes of a considerable number within the present year; and the security and prosperity of the Colony will be greatly promoted by such an accession of well-selected colonists to its present population.

The second object is one of deep interest. The information the Board has obtained of the state of the coast of Africa, leaves them no room to doubt the practicability of forming other settlements upon easy and advantageous terms, at the points designated in the resolution, and perhaps also in other important situations. Of the great advantages of such an operation, when time

and circumstances would justify it, the Board have been always equally convinced. They have reason to believe that a small settlement from Liberia might now be commenced at one of these places, which, instead of weakening, would add greatly to its strength and security; and in time there may be formed a line of such establishments upon the coast, as may confer mutual benefits upon each other; present more numerous outlets and greater facilities of emigration to an unfortunate class of our population; invite to a commerce enriching our country, save that portion of Africa from the horrors of the slave trade, and dispel by their light the darkness around them.

The Board appeals, therefore, with confidence to the American people, and trusts to the Almighty mover of all hearts, that it shall be answered as becomes a great and free, and christian nation.



Intelligence.

LOUISIANA LEGISLATURE.—A resolution was recently presented to this Body proposing the appointment of a Joint Committee to take into consideration the expediency of promoting the emigration of free people of colour from that State to Liberia, and was adopted by a vote of 22 against 11. The Editor of the New Orleans Mercantile Advertiser considers the measure a wise one, and declares that it is fraught with almost every advantage we could hope to desire from any legislative act on this subject; but while considering the evil in this one light, he trusts "that the greater will not be lost sight of," for he adds "it will avail but little, that we see to the exclusion of the free people of colour of other States from our State, fully enforced, if we permit tacitly the introduction of slaves among us. If this intolerable law is still to be tolerated, and we speak candidly, we see but little benefit that will result from sending the free people of colour out of the State.

"If insubordination is introduced among our slave population, be sure, gentlemen of the legislature, it will be done by the slaves sent to us by our neighbors, who find in our planters unsuspecting victims ready to take the poison proffered them, because it comes in the cup of lucre. This is an important question, and for ourselves, we do not see how the two principles can be severed. If it be deemed expedient to send from among us the free people of colour, we see no reason that can be advanced, wherefore the prohibition of the introduction of slaves should not be unhesitatingly adopted.

MILTON, (N. C.) Dec. 25.—We have learned from authority of the most undoubted kind that the inhabitants of Newbern, Tarborough, Hillsborough, and their vicinities, are considerably excited with the anticipation of insurrectional movements among their slaves. Our informant, just from the latter place, states that considerable consternation exists among its citizens: that they have provided arms and ammunition, and are vigilantly patrolling every exposed situation. The inhabi-

tants of Newbern being advised of the assemblage of sixty armed slaves, in a swamp in their vicinity, the military were called out, and surrounding the swamp, *killed the whole party*. It appears, from various rumours, that Christmas morning had been selected as the period of rebellious motions.—*Roanoke Advertiser*.

Conclusion.

Our sixth volume is brought to a close. The year which has just left us, has witnessed some dark but more bright and auspicious events to that enterprise which we consider it alike our honor and felicity to promote. The people of the United States begin to understand the principles and justly to appreciate the objects of the American Colonization Society. Yet, compared with the whole number of our citizens, few have made themselves familiar with the past operations of this Society, and with all the important relations which it bears to the interests of our coloured population, to the general welfare of our country, to the cause of human liberty, knowledge, and virtue. Let us not forget then that our work is but just commenced. Information in regard to the Society and the African Colony must be more extensively diffused and more powerful energies excited to sustain the one, and enlarge the other. We solicit, then, the continued attention and aid of all the friends of man and of God. We invite the Clergy and Churches of every name to come forward, annually, on the fourth of July, and present their offerings to promote the civilization and redemption of Africa. We call upon the benevolent of every name to associate themselves together to advance this holy work. Through the pulpit and the press, by private and public contributions, by memorials addressed to the several State Legislatures and to the Congress of the United States, through every channel and by every proper means, do we desire to see the great object for which our Institution was founded, brought out and invested with new interest and grandeur in the view of our fellow-citizens, and carried forward by their united strength to a glorious consummation. We desire, in concluding this volume of our work, to offer our fervent thanksgivings to that kind and merciful Providence which has watched over us during the year, and to implore upon this Journal and upon all who read its pages his constant benediction.

Plan of Gerrit Smith, Esq.

This Gentleman has proposed to raise \$100,000, for the society, in ten years, by securing 100 subscribers, who will pay \$100 annually during that time. The following have already subscribed.

Gerrit Smith, Peterboro, New York.

Jasper Corning, Charleston, South Carolina.

Theodore Frelinghuysen, Newark, New Jersey.

John T. Norton, Albany, New York.

E. F. Backus, New Haven, Connecticut.

A Gentleman in Mississippi.

Matthew Carey, Philadelphia.

Josiah Bissel, Rochester, New York.

William Crane, Richmond, Virginia.

Fleming James, ditto.

A Friend in Virginia.

Mrs. M. H. Carrington, Mrs. Ann Fontaine, } \$100 annually by
Wm. A. Carrington, P. S. Carrington, } equal contributions.

Gen. Edward Carrington, and Walter C. Carrington

A few Gentlemen near Oak Hill, Fauquier County, Va.

Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, Dedham, Mass.

Robert Ralston, Philadelphia.

Elliot Cresson, ditto.

Robert Gilman, Baltimore.

George Hurwell, Frederick county, Va.

Association of 20 persons in Rev. Dr. Mead's parish, Frederick co. Va.

Hon. Edward McGohee, Mississippi.

Rev. Dr. James P. Thomas, Louisiana.

Four young Gentlemen in Alexandria, D. C.

The Auxiliary Colonization Society of Georgetown, D. C.

Friend in Fredericktown, Md.

Another Subscription on the plan of Gerrit Smith, in Bishop Mead

Congregation, Frederick county, Va.

John Gray, Fredericksburg, Va.

Solomon Allen, Philadelphia, Pa.

Cortland Van Rensselaer, Albany N. Y.

Female Colonization Society of Georgetown, D. C.

General John Hartwell Cocke, of Virginia

Thomas Buffington, Guyandott, Va.

Judge Burnett, of Ohio.

Nicholas Browne, Providence, R. I.